LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921 Editor: R. Palme Dutt

DANGER SIGNALS FROM THE RIGHT

Palme Dutt

TOWARDS YOUTH UNITY

A Symposium of Views

JAPAN TODAY

Sanzo Nosaka

Aftermath of Derry, Betty Sinclair

Socialism and Christianity, Giles Hibbert

Art Colleges, Ray Watkinson

DECEMBER 1968

3s. 6d.

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LABOUR MONTHLY

Editor: R. Palme Dutt Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot
Managing Editor: Roger Woddis

VOL. 50 No. 12 DECEMBER . 1968

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Notes of the Month

DANGER SIGNALS FROM THE RIGHT

'Fascism is the punishment of the proletariat for failure to carry on the revolution begun in Russia.'

KLARA ZETKIN, speech on Fascism in 1923.

November 18, 1968

Which way is the capitalist world moving? In the key country of capitalism, the United States, Nixon's election as President, with nine million votes cast for the racist demagogue Wallace, and Mayor Daley's police thugs ensuring that the only wretched alternative offered the sovereign electors should be a Humphrey, constitute warning signals of the offensive from the Right which is visibly developing in a variety of forms in all the countries where the power of capital extends. Nixon-Wallace in the United States. Powellism and the official resurrection and deification of a Mosley in Britain. Victory of Gaullism in the French elections. The officially permitted advance of the neo-Nazi NDP in West Germany, with its perspective of winning forty to fifty seats in next year's Bundestag elections. The military junta in Greece, with the ostentatious backing of the multi-millionaire Onassis in its work of destroying democracy, now with the added sanctification of the linking of the name of a Kennedy in this holy work. Renewed massacres of working class and democratic leaders in Indonesia on a scale unparalleled in any regime in peacetime. Police violence and denial of civil rights in Derry. All this is one side of the present world situation whose significance we should under-estimate at our peril.

To the Left or to the Right?

Last month under the title 'Birth-Pangs of New Politics' we considered the extending mass upsurge of protests, demonstrations and strikes, with young people and notably students active in the forefront, developing in the previously assumed stable advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America. This upsurge has reflected the gathering capitalist crisis (a human and ideological counterpart of the crisis in the currency world), and has expressed, through whatever confusions of a hundred different trends and sets of ideas, increasingly open revolt against the dominant party

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machines of the old social order. In Britain a high point was reached with the mass demonstration of 100,000 (according to the count of the National Council of Civil Liberties observers) in London on October 27, drawing together the most varied sections of political outlook under an *ad hoc* combined leadership, united against the US war in Vietnam and Britain's official backing of that war, and in support of the Vietnam people's struggle. The significance of this protest was all the more emphasised by the fantastic preceding campaign of the ruling authorities to use every means to create an atmosphere of panic and supposed impending revolution, in the hope to scare away the hesitant or incite a handful to provocations which could serve their purpose for maximum publicity in order to justify the very large police mobilisation for the maintenance of 'law and order.' The campaign in fact failed; the demonstration succeeded. All these and many other signs of awakening and militancy in many fields are opening up a perspective, if political clarity and unity in action can be attained, of a new advance of the Left in the Western capitalist world to challenge the existing social order.

Polarisation of Left and Right

Does the present parallel extending offensive of the Right in the Western capitalist world contradict this advance of the Left? Not at all. The one is the counterpart of the other. As the discontent of wide sections grows and finds expression in left currents which express an increasing challenge to the existing order, so the ruling authorities seek out and bring into play every form of counter-offensive, sometimes direct violence and suppression, especially in the less developed countries, and at other times (notably at present in the advanced capitalist countries, with the balance of class forces) the use of every means to promote disruption, frustration and confusion on the left, in order to hold back and defeat the popular advance. The military junta struck in Greece precisely when it became clear that the popular democratic forces were about to win the election. Powellism makes its inroads into significant sections of the working class in Britain, and Wallace wins the support of nine million electors, including among significant sections of organised workers in the United States, precisely when capitalism in Britain and the United States is manifestly shaken in the eyes of all, with the third devaluation of sterling and the instability of the dollar. The deepening of class contradictions finds expression in the parallel advance of the Left and the Right. The polarisation of Left and Right is a characteristic feature of the present political situation.

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Dilemmas of the 'Middle Way'

With this polarisation on the Left and on the Right, the space begins to diminish for the traditional 'Middle Way' of relatively stable capitalism or the 'Conservative-Labour consensus'. The Labour Government, carrying out Conservative policies, finds itself in direct conflict with the organised working class movement and its recognised representative expression through the Trades Union Congress or Labour Party Conference. With the dwindling of individual Labour membership, and abstention of former active supporters in the localities, the by-elections have shown a melancholy picture of Conservative advance. The Social Democratic Party in West Germany, after explicitly renouncing Marxism in its latest programme, sinks into coalition with the dominant conservative Christian Democratic Union under the notorious ex-former Nazi Kiesinger. In this way the field is left free for the neo-Nazi NDP to advance as the supposed challenging opposition against the ruling coalition. This advance is at the same time carried forward under the mantle of protection of ex-Nazi Kiesinger and his Social Democratic coalition partners, who refuse to ban this neo-Nazi organisation, as required by Potsdam, and as the duty should fall on all the four Powers to demand. Their realisation that their refusal to impose this ban is an open defiance was revealed by the manoeuvre executed by von Thadden, obviously in complicity with Kiesinger, to dissolve the NDP in West Berlin, in order that the issue should not come before the Four-Power control. The 'Middle Way' seems indeed to be ending in a swamp. This is an old story. All the memories of the twenties and the thirties are renewing themselves in new forms. We have experienced already where the path of Social Democracy, proclaiming its way as the triumphant alternative to Communism, led in practice, to fascism and the second world war. We do not want to tread this path again.

How Disruption of the Left Brings Victory of the Right

Nixon's victory in the American Presidential elections was not inevitable. The enthusiastic popular support for Eugene McCarthy's campaign, expressing the deep opposition to the Vietnam war, and mobilising its campaigners in a variety of forms extending in range beyond the conventional party machinery, notably among young people, became a political portent new in American political history. Defeating all the expert predictions of insignificance, as it swept forward in the primaries, its success drew Robert Kennedy out of

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his hiding to throw his hat into the ring, and led President Johnson to renounce standing for re-election. This popular response revealed a potential progressive majority if the campaign could be carried through to the election. The machine bosses in alarm set to work to stamp out this spark of popular political life. The police thuggery at Chicago was the optical demonstration of the action of the Democratic Party machine to bludgeon the democratic impulse of the people and force the acceptance of the unwanted Humphrey. Thereby the victory was handed to the equally unwanted Nixon, though by so narrow a margin as to reveal the equal repulsion of the people for both unwanted candidates, while millions fell into the net of the ultra-right Wallace with his claim to represent 'the small man.' In the immediate short-term calculation the machine managers won. The marvellous mechanism of the traditional Anglo-American two-party system, devised to give the sovereign electors the appearance of choice, while in fact ensuring that, whatever the outcome, the policy of the ruling class shall continue to be executed, operated with its customary efficiency, offering the electors the choice between two main candidates, neither of whom presented any intelligible alternative on the great issues before the American people, yet in the final casting of the vote between these two zeros successfully creating the atmosphere of excitement of a closely run horse race.

What Next for the United States?

But this victory of the machine managers has solved none of the problems before the United States. Indeed, the most significant feature of the election was the extent of the disillusionment of the majority of the electors with the deception which was being practised upon them. On the eve of the election the Harris poll came out with the result that the biggest vote was not for any of the three candidates, but for opposition to all three; 57 per cent, according to this poll, which proved in general accurate in its estimations, declared that they did not want any of the three candidates. And in the actual electoral vote, while Nixon and Humphrey each obtained the support of 30 millions and Wallace 9 millions, all three were eclipsed by the 40 millions who did not vote, whether through deprivation of electorial rights or refusal to vote. Thus Nixon became President with the support of only a quarter of the 119 million adults of voting age, or the lowest proportion of any President since 1912—hardly an expression of confidence. But this does not mean that we can dismiss the reactionary significance of the outcome. This is not principally a question of the personality of Nixon, who is a typical

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machine politician to serve the requirements of US finance-capital, but of the realities of the present stage of American economics and politics and class relations.

Contradictions and Conflict

It is the contradictions of the present situation of American capitalism; the conspicuous bankruptcy of its aggressive interventionist strategy in Vietnam, and the collapse of the old Dulles dreams of a monopoly of world power, pointing to the vindication (but not yet publicly recognised) of the more far-sighted realism of Franklin Roosevelt; the ending of the supremacy of the dollar; the home economic difficulties, inferno of the cities, mass discontent of wide sections, and the racial conflicts; all these conditions open up the prospect of sharpening clashes which can give rise to the danger of desperate new reactionary policies in the endeavour to control the contradictions. It is in this context that the vote of nine millions for the ultra-right Wallace takes on its special significance. When the other Wallace, the progressive Henry Wallace stood in the 1948 presidential election, with all the prestige of his record as Roosevelt's Vice-President, on an independent ticket for the Progressive Party, he only obtained 1,157,000 votes. Thus the army of nine millions which this Wallace has been able to gather, however tricky the methods, is a warning of the danger that, if the left is disrupted the ultra-right stands ready to take advantage. There is no doubt that great struggles are opening out before the American people. In this connection the formation of the Alliance for Labour Action by the two largest unions, receiving already the adherence of other unions, with a programme including aims of a political character although not yet political action, is one of the signs of the gathering of forces for the coming struggles.

Consequences of US Policy for Britain

What of the prospects in Britain? Any swing to new reactionary policies on the part of the United States, especially in the economic field, as the wounded monster lashes about to solve its own problems of balance of payments deficits, inflation or budget deficits, can have adverse effects on all the other countries of the capitalist world. It was President Johnson who in his New Year speech this year, announcing his programme of stringent cuts, equivalent to three billion dollars a year, to reduce gold losses and slash overseas investment, justified his lower rate of reduction in the case of Britain

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(a 35 per cent cut instead of a 100 per cent cut) on the grounds that Britain was 'dependent on US investment for economic growth'. All the problems of capitalism in the United States apply far more stringently to Britain. For the United States has normally a huge trade surplus ($3.7 billion in 1966) as well as a huge 'invisibles' surplus ($3.3 billion in the same year), totalling an available balance of payments surplus of $7 billion or £2,750 million; and the recent balance of payments deficits which came to the forefront since that year only arose because of the still more gigantic overseas military expenditure, the war in Vietnam, 'aid' (mainly strategic), and additional overseas investment, all totalling $8.2 billion in that year, and thus causing a deficit. Britain's trade deficit, on the other hand, has been a permanent feature for over a century and more, reflecting the parasitic imperialist basis of the economy, and the balance of payments deficit, already beginning to appear before the second world war, has been chronic since then because of the attempt, after the loss of the old direct empire, to maintain the world imperialist economic, financial and power structure as the key to the economy, involving heavy overseas capital investment and military expenditure, on a weakened domestic economic basis. Thus the problems of Britain's economy are far more severe than those of the United States, and the consequent political issues, despite all the attempts to muffle them, all the sharper.

How Left Disruption Helps the Right in Britain

Is there any parallel in the political situation in Britain to the disruption of the Left which has opened the gates to the increased offensive of the Right in the United States? Certainly the forms are different. But the real situation is comparable. It is true that the organised labour movement, based on the trade unions, has advanced now for over six decades independently into the political arena to maintain its own party against the old deception of the Conservative-Liberal two-party system, and after the October Revolution has accepted in principle the aim of socialism. These have represented historic steps forward, not so far achieved in the different conditions of the American labour movement. But this advance has been negated by the dominant leadership of this party based on the trade unions repudiating its class basis, and adopting capitalist politics, and even at this latest stage the repetition of Conservative policies for the saving and attempted strengthening of capitalism in its present difficulties. Thus the replacement of the Conservative-Liberal two-party system by the Conservative-Labour two-party

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system has not so far changed its essential functioning as the mechanism for the maintenance of capitalist class society.

Dividing the Workers

While Britain is the only capitalist country with an overwhelming working-class majority of the population, thus providing a most favourable basis for the victory of working-class politics and power, in alliance with the professional and technical strata, the Labour Party's repudiation of class politics splits the working class, and one-third of the workers vote Conservative. Within the organised labour movement, while the trade unions operate on a generally democratic basis, whatever the limitations, in the political movement the most elaborate system of bans and proscriptions against the militant left is operated to protect the structure of the division of the workers, which is indispensable for right-wing domination. At the present stage the Labour Government's pursuit of orthodox Conservative and City financial policies intensifies the division. Even Sir Leslie O'Brien, when as Governor of the Bank of England he made his notorious speech in St. Paul's Cathedral on the appropriate day of November 7 (though not in commemoration of the anniversary) to describe the distrust of the City for Labour, added: 'I think at present that the Government are making a pretty good fist at running the economy'. These policies, thus not unsurprisingly endorsed by the City, are directed to attack the workers' fight for increased wages, threaten the unions with penal legislation, and impose cuts in consumption and standards of the people, while sending the profits of the giant monopolies soaring to record heights. The *Financial Times* index of industrial profits in October showed an increase of 17.6 per cent on the preceding year (maximum increase for wages set by the Government at 3½ per cent, with legal powers to enforce it); the Imperial Chemical Industries octopus increased its profits in the first half of 1968 by 38 per cent on the preceding year. Thus the Labour Government is brought into conflict with the working class. The Trades Union Congress by a vote of seven to one, and the Labour Party Conference by a vote of five to one, adopt resolutions condemning the Government's wage policy and calling for repeal of the legislation. The Government repudiates the decisions. On their side disillusioned labour workers repudiate the Government by refusing to work for it or vote for it at by-elections, and Conservative gains and majorities pile up. On this basis only, and certainly not on the basis of any popular confidence in the Conservative leadership or policies, the Conservative Party

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builds its hopeful calculations on a come-back at the next election. Disruption of the Left plays into the hands of the Right.

Counter-Revolution? Not Unless Necessary

So long as this system functions successfully, with the division of the workers, Conservative-Labour alternation, and right-wing domination in the labour movement, to maintain the smooth flow of rent, interest and profits, there is no need from the point of view of the ruling class to change the existing political structure or experiment with the hazardous emergency types of regime so often adopted in crisis conditions in many capitalist countries, including sometimes in advanced capitalist countries. But the British ruling class, proverbially the most experienced ruling class in the world—not so much in the sense of political sagacity, for their results have been poor over the past half century, but in the sense of generations of experience of class manipulation—is aware that these conditions cannot be assumed as permanent; that changes may come; that the Left may advance in strength and even win ascendancy in the labour movement; that already present shifts in the balance in major unions may be a foreshadowing of future possibilities. And already there are signs that, while operating the present system, they have begun to give some reserve attention to their action in the event of such new possibilities developing, in the event of a serious united Left leadership winning the majority in the labour movement, and, on the basis of the support of the working class and the majority of the people, aspiring to govern.

Industrial Policy Group

The recent curious exhibition of suddenly exhuming and dusting the archaic figure of Mosley, and giving him a coat of whitewash to make the previously unmentionable respectable, has a symbolic rather than a practical significance. Similarly the widely publicised diatribes of the demoted Cecil King on the decline and discredit of parliamentary institutions is little more than a symptom of a trend. Of possibly greater importance was the formation in October, 1967, of the special organisation of the biggest industrialists (on a higher level than the all-inclusive CBI) calling itself the 'Industrial Policy Group,' and described by Callaghan as 'potentially sinister':

> Many of Britain's most influential industrialists gathered in a London club last night for a secret 'council of war' on the future aims and work of the much publicised but as yet inactive Industrial Policy Group.
>
> A long queue of chauffeur-driven cars waited outside the Canning Club in Hamilton Place, Mayfair, as Sir Paul Chambers, recently retired Chair-

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man of ICI, presided at a working dinner in a private room. Inside were some of the biggest names in British business, who are associated with a group once condemned by the ex-Chancellor, James Callaghan, as 'potentially sinister' (*The Times*, April 26, 1968)

There is a slight whiff here of the notorious Ruhr Industrial Barons' secret meetings which prepared the changes in the Weimar Republic.

'The British Constitution'

More outspoken in expressing a certain line of thought which has begun to find formulation is a remarkable two-column editorial which *The Times* published on September 21 under the title 'The British Constitution.' This editorial set itself the problem to consider what safeguards existed in the absence of a general written constitution, to prevent a future left wing government, or right wing government, to prevent from using a parliamentary majority to carry through drastic changes and establish the equivalent of a 'one-party state' (the familiar term used by the Western press, in most cases inaccurately, to describe the existing socialist states).

The two main acts which might be passed by a right-wing or a left-wing party which wanted to establish one-party rule would be to govern by decree and to expand the life of Parliament. These were in fact the acts quite legitimately taken during the last war, and the combination of emergency legislation with the suspension of general elections created the effective equivalent of a one-party state under the Coalition Government. Similar actions might again be taken.

Accordingly the question is posed; 'What defences do we have against such action?' The suggestion of the House of Lords as an answer is dismissed as ineffective. Instead, the preferred answer is set out with singular clarity:

The ultimate constitutional safeguard is the residual power of the Queen. It is certainly still true that the Queen has the right to dismiss an Administration which is itself acting in an unconstitutional way or with clearly undemocratic intentions . . .

The value of the Monarchy as the ultimate protector of the Constitution is undoubted. The power of the Monarchy to defend the Constitution rests chiefly on the loyalty of the Army.

Thus the Monarchy and the Army are seen by this organ of ruling class opinion as the ultimate safeguard of the existing order.

Strategy of Division

All this is music of the future. These calculations about the Monarchy and the Army as the ultimate means to maintain the existing social-political order in Britain in conditions of future menace to that order from a popular majority seeking to carry out revolutionary changes through legislative forms are the long-term

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thoughts of representatives of the ruling class who are trying to gaze into the crystal ball of hypothetical future situations. Nevertheless, these calculations of the future reinforce the lesson of the present: the necessity for unity of the working class and the left to be ready to meet all contingencies. The armies of the ultra-right mobilised by a Wallace or a Powell on the basis of crude racialist incitement and demagogy are at the moment reserve weapons of the ruling class, to be politely disclaimed in official circles (though never to be interfered with), available to come to the forefront in conditions of emergency, but at the moment mainly useful for the purpose of spreading disruption to divide the working people. The main present strategy of capitalism is to use every means to endeavour to spread division and confusion among the people so as to prevent the mobilisation and coming together of the potential working class and progressive majority. This applies not only to the organisational machinery of division already described in the specific forms in the United States and Britain, but also the most elaborate methods to endeavour to spread confusion, disruptive cross-currents and mutually destructive divisions in the realm of ideas.

Ferment of Youth Discussion

In this twenty-fourth year since the end of the second world war a whole new generation has come to the front which has never known the war or fascism, and which looks with eager candour and open eyes and anger at the horrors and evils of the modern world, the bomb, poverty, social inequality, racialism, the gulf between rich and poor nations. This political stirring of wider numbers of young people than in any previous period, including in the advanced capitalist countries, is one of the most positive features in the modern situation, and a powerful stimulus to progressive advance and united activity, where older traditional organisations may be stuck in grooves or long established divisions and hostility. But the task of reaching political clarity, and a firm understanding of class relations, in all the contradictions and cross-currents of the modern world situation, is not an easy one, and is not achieved by a wave of the hand. Reaction is quick to take advantage of every weakness and confusion, just as fascism used to direct its spurious appeal to 'youth' as a supposed classless entity counterposed to existing society. Today the machinery of large-scale publicity in the control of the ruling authorities assiduously plays up every divisive leftist trend, the more harebrained and far-out the better from their viewpoint, in the hope to spread confusion and

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division. Only the good sense, serious endeavour and sincerity of the overwhelming majority of young people seeking their way forward will defeat these traps, as they develop with experience of combined struggle. This was shown by the successful achievement of the demonstration of October 27, when youth organisations of a very wide political range came together on a common issue, and only a very tiny minority were diverted by the calls of disruption.

Youth Unity and Left Unity

It is in the context of these problems that we have pleasure in publishing this month, under the general theme 'Toward Youth Unity' contributions from representatives of youth organisations and participants in the initiation and carrying through of October 27, giving their views on the lessons of this experience and the further way forward. These contributions are of value precisely because they express the way in which those directly involved are seeing the issues and the terms familiar in their discussions. When George Bridges speaks of 'street power' to describe the success of the march in occupying the whole of the street without resistance from the police, the term needs to be understood in this context in the sense in which it was used, just as 'Black Power', with its wide range of meanings needs to be understood in the context of those using the term. When Jan Midwinter speaks of hearing something from 'a hardened Stalinist', she is probably unaware that the terms 'Stalinist' and 'Stalinism' were invented by enemies and have no existence in the vocabulary of Marxism-Leninism. These are mere details of language and approach in relation to the main issue. For the important thing is the common ground that is shown, the serious and thoughtful recognition and tackling of the problems, and the determination to solve them and find the common way forward. The question of youth unity cannot be separated from the basic questions of working-class unity and left unity. George Bridges justly points out that 'the outstanding single weakness of the demonstration was the general lack of participation by the organised labour movement', and that 'the next mobilisation must involve taking into account the need to rally trade unionists and the broad peace movement'. The young people cannot solve the problem of unity in isolation. But the youth organisations have led the way and set the example of united common action on a common issue, and their example can help to promote that wider working-class and left unity which is indispensable to defeat the offensive of the Right.

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Towards Youth Unity

LESSONS OF OCTOBER 27

George Bridges, Secretary
London District Young Communist League

FOR us in the Young Communist League, the massive demonstration in solidarity with the National Liberation Front of Vietnam on October 27 marked a new stage in this movement, one that arose from the lessons of previous demonstrations in 1968. March 17 and July 21. In face of the unprecedented barrage of press distortion both before and after the demonstration, it is important to estimate exactly what was achieved. In fact all the major objectives put forward from an early meeting (the first meeting of the *ad hoc* Committee was in mid-July) were carried out:

1) the mobilisation of 100,000 people on the streets in an angry protest against US aggression in Vietnam;
2) a deepening of the need for united action, for discipline amongst the demonstrators and for solidarity of the demonstration against provocations, from whatever quarter;
3) the taking over of the whole of the streets along which the procession marched, in defiance of original police demands, and with the police taking up a massed stance in *defence* of the supposedly threatened key installations of the state. This marks quite a new departure in 'street power' with not a single arrest on the main march, and hardly a police constable to be seen accompanying the demonstration.

How was such a massive turn-out, the biggest on Vietnam, and one of the biggest in this century on any issue, achieved?

The slogans on the march—'Victory to the NLF and the Vietnamese revolution.' 'Defeat US aggression.' 'End Labour government complicity'—corresponded to the mood amongst the youth. It is interesting to note that the last time such a massive youth turnout on the streets was claimed was by Frank Cousins on a CND march in the early sixties; there the issue was simple: 'Ban the Bomb' the Vietnam issue has brought a much wider understanding of the world clash between imperialism and the national liberation struggle.

The position within the students in Britain, reflecting the world-

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wide upsurge of student activity, had laid the basis for a mass turnout from the more easy to organise contingents from universities and colleges.

The massive press campaign, aimed at discrediting the demonstration, rebounded and helped to ensure the 100,000—with two Sunday papers even printing the route of the march.

The YCL had been critical of the organisers of the March 17 demonstration, which led to the débâcle in Grosvenor Square, we nevertheless took part. On July 21 and October 27 we participated fully, from beginning to end. This alongside the growing understanding on the Left of the need for unity and discipline, meant that a common purpose was felt in the organising committee from the start.

Further a whole number of *ad hoc* committees for the demonstration were successfully set up in the localities and helped to mobilise support. The fact that the overwhelming majority of the marchers boycotted the emotional and romantic appeals to go to Grosvenor Square was a major victory. Nevertheless, the Maoist and anarchist factions, several hundred strong, which were not represented at the *ad hoc* committee, gave the state machine the photographs and news stories which they wanted and used to good effect to smear the whole Vietnam movement. Following their similar childish display on July 21 there is now a wide feeling that there is no place in a united movement of the left for such infantile tendencies.

Appeals made by such people as Geoff Martin, National Union of Students President to stay away, went unheeded and are likely to rebound against them. It was a pity that some of the broader and longer established peace and progressive organisations did not see fit to participate, although the CND at its conference of October 26-27 decided to join the march. But the outstanding single weakness of the demonstration was the general lack of participation by the organised Labour movement.

Any next steps, based around the mobilisation in Spring 1969, must be built on such involvement. Not only in order to boost the numbers to quarter of a million, not only because the voice of the Labour movement is the most powerful on the Left, but also because a permanent division between the youth movement and the organised workers would be disastrous.

Therefore proposals from the organisers of the next mobilisation must involve taking into account the need to rally trade unionists and the broad peace movement.

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All the conference resolutions of the most representative bodies of the movement have been passed against US aggression. These need to be re-affirmed and perhaps strengthened. Most of all, to implement this there must be mass pressure of all kinds to force these policies on the Wilson government. No matter what concessions the US leaders are forced to make, no matter how they may manoeuvre, the Vietnam movement must and will continue until every US soldier has left Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are allowed to settle their own affairs.

It is within this context that the escalation of 'street power' has the most effective role to play, This is so important that it cannot be left to youth and students to go it alone.

PERSPECTIVES FOR UNITY WITHIN PROGRESSIVE YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS

Jan Midwinter
Secretary, Radical Student Alliance

IN this short article I intend briefly to state the reasons which lead me, sadly, to believe that it would be over-optimistic to hope for the development of any great unity between the progressive youth and student movements of this country in the immediate future. I would submit that many reasons *could* be given, but that the complicated and protracted nature of the British struggle against capitalism vitiates any simple cause and, by the same token, any simple solution. For these same reasons, this article is intended to promote discussion on a problem to which the majority of progressive organisations do not devote, in my view, enough consideration.

Such discussion as does take place on the subject of unity tends to degenerate, at worst, into references to 'revisionism' and 'ultraism', or, at best, to 'incorrectness'. But these terms do no more than recognise the existing state of disunity: they contain no attempt at analysis of the problem, no attempt at its solution, and as such, do no more than flirt with the problem.

It is a problem which stems from the singular nature of the revolu-

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tionary struggle in this country, and from the nature of the opposition to that struggle. The labour movement's long-standing fight for socialism is a product of, and in turn produces, its clear understanding of the class struggle: too often, however, the adroit bureaucracy of the ruling class has taken the edge off the struggle by various (devious) means: such as the 'buying off' of wavering leaders (referred to as 'class traitors' in another place), or the conceding of minor points which do not threaten the entrenchment of the ruling class, in order to retain control over major issues. It is very probably this type of devious action which has led to a situation where a considerable section of the labour movement (unfortunately not a section which would read *Labour Monthly*) does not appreciate the vital relationship of class struggle to political struggle.

Equally, the appreciation of these inextricably interrelated factors which is to be found in the progressive youth and student movements tends to exist only on a very superficial level: i.e. socialist students are intensely aware that the working class in the form of the labour movement must be the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle, but while their criticisms of that movement may often be justified, their very revolutionary zeal causes them to forget or discount its experience in class struggle. Hence their eagerness to rouse the workers, hence the workers' scorn for the student.

The nature of political, and therefore, social repression in this country is singularly subtle, which does not resort to violence. It is one which concentrates on mental and material cushioning of the working class in order to destroy or prevent any awareness of exploitation. From birth, everything that we see, hear or read is directed towards our acceptance of, and participation in, a capitalist system in which a minority dominates a majority—the force of that domination being economic. We are not therefore subject to violent oppression, not engaged in physical conflict with the forces of the ruling class: our struggle exists within these factors very much on an ideological and theoretical level, and this very fact, which should ideally lead us all to a common political analysis and consequently strengthen our unity in the face of imperialist forces, leaves us time to *indulge* in largely meaningless polemics, the 'conclusions' of which are then prostituted in the name of revolutionary socialism, and which tend to impede, rather than further, the progress of the practical revolutionary struggle.

This is not to say that the divisions prevalent today are an entirely new phenomenon; on the contrary, the nature of progressive organisations has always been such that divisions have occurred. To a

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large extent they have developed the common political struggle. They existed long before the occurrence of the present divisions in international communism, from which so many revolutionary organisations today take their names (which is not to say that today's adherents of Mao, Trotsky and Stalin necessarily do justice to any of their socialist heroes), whose 'splittist' tactics are encouraged by the capitalist press which recognises only too well the value of 'divide and rule'.

It was not my intention in this contribution to be pessimistic, rather (to use a term common to most present-day political groupings) 'realistic'. For the faction fight, to anyone outside it, appears not only boring, but quite immorally irrelevant. Even Trotsky, when he made his famous prediction, 'He who wants a quiet life is born in the wrong century', could not have foreseen the disastrous implications it would hold for socialist and progressive organisations. Given, however, the actuality of his words (which, paradoxically, I learned at the knee of a hardened Stalinist!) in our midst, we should note the strength that the revolutionary socialist movements have gained from uniting on 'minimum programmes' to take action on such vital issues as Vietnam. (May we do the same on Rhodesia.) Division, while it has clearly retarded the development of the revolutionary movement, has not, and I believe, will not, destroy it. Its existence serves as a constant reminder that if we desire unity, as we all must, then we have a revolutionary duty to work for it.

UNITY THROUGH ACTION

Geoffrey Richman

Hon. Secretary, Socialist Medical Association,
Member of National Council, Vietnam Solidarity Campaign

ONE of the commonest complaints made by the sympathetic elderly against young people active in politics is 'yes—but what do they want?' They can see what we're against, but not what we are for. They say we reject everything, that we are anarchists, believe in violence for its own sake, suffer from impatience, and are disinterested in the problems of ordinary people, identifying with romantic and distant revolutions.

The we is the 'new left' which like its counterpart in the USA,

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West Germany and France, is now beginning to emerge in Britain, and announced its hegemony on the revolutionary left on October 27. The *ad hoc* committee called for by Vietnam Solidarity Campaign on October 22, 1967 brought out 5,000 people, the October 27 *ad hoc* committee 100,000. The short answer to what we are for is revolution, but I don't think saying we are against capitalism and for socialism is a useful start to a discussion. What the new left says in effect is that it is no longer adequate to define socialism as the common ownership of the means of production. It is also, and more importantly about how we live. But this cannot be defined abstractly. It can only be given meaning by the collective exploration in struggle of what it actually requires to live as a revolutionary. This is not something that can be done after a revolution, it has to be started here and now, and to give the answers with a predetermined programme is to pre-empt the discussion, and to present people with something they can perhaps modify, but not share in creating. This is manipulation, a replica of the state of affairs in outside society when we can 'democratically' elect representatives or exert 'peaceful' pressure by protest letters, petitions and moral persuasion, but we cannot change the structure.

Politics is about power and which class has power. Four years of Labour Government have taught young people that if they wish to change the structure, they must have power. At the same time as this growing disillusionment with conventional politics, the Vietnamese revolution has begun to revolutionise the international left. By standing up to and then defeating US imperialism, it has exposed the total nature of the system, but also the power of a united and politically conscious mass actually to win. The inspiration is thus direct. The same is true of Che Guevara and the Cuban revolution. The focus of the demonstrations against US aggression in Vietnam have therefore been on the demonstrators, how they show themselves their own power, and not how they can influence the Government.

The problem of uniting people into mass movements which can make a revolution is, how can we inspire and organise? The new student struggles have shown one element—a concern for control of their own education and for its socialist content, for the sovereignty of the assembly and open unstructured debate, for participatory democracy; by an uncompromising use of direct action like occupations and sit-ins. The question of control is fundamental for any such revolutionary movement. It is too early to define concretely what these movements will be, what is certain

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is that their internal life must be such as to enable people to understand here and now why socialism is both superior to capitalism and inevitable once this is grasped.

One example, in the Socialist Medical Association, which has not been for a long time a 'youth' organisation. We have campaigned since the inception of the National Health Service for its improvement and extension—patently desirable (and not without success). But to be 'new left' it would have to develop, not by propaganda but by direct activity based on committed revolutionaries, campaigns on two related themes. First the control of the health service by health workers, functioning collectively and democratically and not as a hierarchy. Second, the demonstration that health is a social question, a matter of how we live and the structure of society, and not an individual problem. The fight for an occupational health service based on workers-safety delegates, if it was a shop floor campaign for control in the workplace, and not a matter of resolutions, might be one example.

For me the connection between this and Vietnam is straightforward. By decreasing the power of US and British imperialism the National Liberation Front are directly decreasing the power of the ruling class here. It is also a challenge to us to take up the fight with the same conviction—and win.

CO-OPERATION THE KEY

Philip Kelly*

Chairman, Union of Liberal Students

THE Establishment's general argument behind lowering the voting age to eighteen has been that if young people are allowed a say in the present methods of choosing the Government, they will be less inclined to take part in actions outside the existing accepted modes of political behaviour. The same motives lie behind the scramble by the National Union of Students and the University Vice-Chancellors to buy some kind of campus peace in our time by incorporating students in the traditional impotence of academic committees. Both approaches are designed to conceal the question of where real power lies in our society. The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few people, and consequently the

* Here writing in an individual capacity.

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continuing imbalance in the distribution of material benefits and political power is becoming more and more obvious.

The revolt has taken many different forms. The protest of the Art Students at Guildford and Hornsey was primarily against the imposition of the ideas of local bureaucrats and time serving right-wing politicians on education. The demand that education be under the control of staff and students and that it should serve the whole community has been behind most of the student discontent in some form or another but it has taken many different forms. In most Universities, there are now *ad hoc* groupings of progressive students, concentrating on the issues which are important in that institution. By and large, attempts to impose a structure on the student movement have been unsuccessful.

The picture is of many little groups with varying ideological attitudes, each proclaiming the one true faith. Yet on specific issues, there is a large amount of unity. The Radical Student Alliance has been held back because at a national level, most of these groups' primary loyalties have been to their own ideas. Specific issues at campus level have united them; and the issue of the increase in Overseas Students' Fees was a specific issue which united people at a national level for a short while.

Vietnam has been the issue round which protest has coalesced. As the most obvious example of a fight against the society which many young people are finding increasingly restrictive and intolerable, it has been raised almost to the level of a myth. But it has been the source of more unity on the faction-ridden left than any other issue. The October 27 demonstration was a lesson to all the organisations involved; and its success in terms of size was its own reward. The task is to build on the co-operative attitudes created during this activity, and this means that local projects must be undertaken more and more in co-operation by all left-wing groups in a specific community. We can learn from the flexibility and undogmatic approach of the students.

The revolt in this country is a long way from becoming revolution. I believe that the idea of concentrating power in the hands of a revolutionary leadership is not the most valuable way of using the frustrations of young people in a constructive way to change society. Because they are revolting against a regimented society, they have no wish to substitute an alternative hierarchical system. The co-operation of various groups is one way of ensuring that while the diverse opinions of the left can continue to be expressed, their efforts will not be dissipated as in the past in sterile factionalism.

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JAPAN TODAY

Sanzo Nosaka

Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Japan

(*Forty-seven years ago, in the first volume of* Labour Monthly, *Sanzo Nosaka, then in London, contributed in our issues of August and September 1921, a survey of social conditions and the development of the labour movement in Japan. These two articles won universal recognition as a classic statement on the development of the labour movement in Japan, on which all subsequent references were to be built. In the same year the Communist Party of Japan was founded.*

For thirty years Nosaka has been Chairman of the Communist Party of Japan. In the recent elections the Communist Party of Japan increased its vote by one million and obtained over three and a half million votes. Now in the centenary year of the Meiji Restoration (when Japan moved abruptly into the modern world from the feudal conditions which had survived right on until after the publication of Capital) *Nosaka has written again for* Labour Monthly *a survey of the modern situation in Japan after the many vicissitudes of disaster and imperialist expansion which led to the downfall of its empire and subjugation to Yankee imperialism. Nosaka knows Britain well and in those distant days of the nineteen-twenties had the honour of being deported by the notorious Basil Thomson at the head of the Special Branch and subsequently Director of Intelligence.*

In this article he examines the modern problems of Japan, the gathering popular struggle against US domination, the role of the various political parties, and the significance of the recent elections. —*Ed.* LM.)

NEARLY half a century has passed since I contributed my first article to *Labour Monthly*. During this time the world, Britain and Japan have gone through radical changes.

The feature of post-war Japan is that Japan has been deprived of her independence and sovereignty under the rule of a foreign power, an experience never before known in her pre-war history, and has virtually become subordinated to a foreign country.

After Japanese imperialism's defeat in its aggressive war, Japan was placed under the complete occupation rule of US imperialism which trampled down the Potsdam Declaration drawn up by the anti-fascist Allied Powers. Subsequently the semi-occupation rule

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has been continued up to now by means of the San Francisco system which is a joint work of US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital. This system was established in legal form by a series of unequal treaties and agreements—mainly the San Francisco 'Peace' Treaty and the 'Japan-US Security Treaty' concluded between the US and Japanese Governments in 1951. This system is an anti-communist, anti-socialist aggressive military alliance under the domination of the United States to suppress the Japanese nation and to continue to plunder the Japanese nation. For this reason, the island of Okinawa, which is a part of Japanese territory, is still under the direct military and colonial rule of the US armed forces and has been turned into the largest nuclear military base in Asia. In Japan proper there are over one hundred and twenty or so military bases of the US land, sea and air forces. Thus, the ruling hand of the United States directly and indirectly reaches every field of military, political, economic, diplomatic and cultural activity in Japan.

Under this system, while actively utilising Japan for its policy of aggression in Asia, US imperialism has adopted the policy to revive and strengthen Japanese monopoly capital as its junior ally. Japanese monopoly capital has also voluntarily taken the road of subordination to the United States in order to receive political and economic aid from the powerful US imperialism and thus accelerate its own revival and consolidation. In this way, together with West Germany, Japanese monopoly capital economically developed rapidly in the short space of the post-war days and proceeded in the direction of the revival of militarism and imperialism. In 1960, the Japan-US Security Treaty was revised by the hand of Nobusuke Kishi (then Premier) who is an elder brother of the present Premier Eisaku Sato. In the name of equality between the United States and Japan an obligation of joint operation with the United States was newly placed on Japan. So Japan was more firmly tied to the chains of the aggressive military alliance under the control of the United States, and under this treaty the revival of Japanese militarism has been further strengthened. The armed forces, called the 'Self-Defence Forces', have been reinforced up to a strength of 300,000, and their war potential has reached several times the strength of the pre-war 'Emperor's armed forces'. Plunder of the people and reactionary rule over them have been strengthened in various forms. As a result, contradictions between US-Japanese monopoly capital and the people have been further increased. It is true that the growing contradictions between US monopoly capital and

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Japanese monopoly capital are also developing, but the main aspect of relations between the two is featured by the subordination of Japanese monopoly capital to US monopoly capital.

In face of this revision of the Security Treaty in 1960, the broad democratic forces headed by the Communist Party of Japan rallied to the united front against the Security Treaty, unfolded a mass struggle mobilising several million people on a nation-wide scale for 18 months, and finally overthrew the Kishi Cabinet. For the first time this struggle brought into the arena of political battle on a nation-wide scale the confrontation between the 'two roads' for Japan's future course—the 'road of the military alliance in subordination to the United States and war' or the 'road of independence, peace and neutrality'. This confrontation has underlain the political history of post-war Japan.

The development of the situation and people's struggle for eight years, from then to today, has made a broad section of the people aware of the struggle of the 'two roads' around this future course of Japan and has gradually ripened the condition for extensively organising the Japanese people's national democratic activity.

Especially during these last years this struggle has deepened, as US imperialism has increasingly escalated its ferocious war of aggression in Vietnam including the bombing of North Vietnam. US imperialism has made use of Japan as its main operation and supply base on such a large scale that not only US planes and naval vessels sallying out to Vietnam leave and enter Japan day and night as if it were their own country, but they also threaten even the life and property of the Japanese nation. The voice of uneasiness and opposition to the Security Treaty has once again risen high among the Japanese people. Furthermore, we are now on the eve of the so-called 're-examination period' of the Security Treaty in 1970. It is stipulated in the Treaty that after 1970 if either Government gives notice of 'termination' of the treaty, it will be automatically abolished. Thus the alternative of maintaining or abolishing the Treaty has been sharply raised in the forefront of public attention.

In the election to the House of Councillors the Communist Party of Japan fought in full opposition to the parties which support subordination to the US. These are the Liberal Democratic Party, which is the Government party, representing the reactionary forces based mainly on Japanese monopoly capital; and the Democratic Socialist Party, which is an anti-communist right-wing socialist party. Our Party put out a programme for the abrogation of the US-Japan Security Treaty; for the neutrality and security policies

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to be adopted after this abrogation; and constantly called for the formation of a united front and the establishment of a democratic coalition Government to carry out these aims. Another cardinal point at issue in the elections was how to combat the rising cost of living and the growing difficulties in respect of housing, taxation, wages, traffic, and other questions affecting the daily life of the people.

Since 1960, the economic strength of Japanese monopoly capital has been greatly strengthened, having been assisted by the introduction of US capital and technology. Today the tempo of its productive development is the highest among the developed capitalist countries in the world. Japan's gross national product surpassed that of Britain in 1967, and ranks third among capitalist countries, approaching West Germany. Taking advantage of the decline of British capital in South East Asia, Japanese monopoly capital in subordination to the United States is vigorously engaging in economic advancement in those areas. Such a high rate of economic growth has been attained through brutal exploitation of the Japanese workers and reckless plunder of the whole people by Japanese monopoly capital, which makes use of the mechanism of state-monopoly capitalism. For this reason, while in production ranking third in the world, Japan ranks twenty-first in the national income per head, and the nominal hourly wages of the productive workers are one-fifth or sixth of those in the United States and less than half of those in Britain and West Germany. The shameful label 'Cheap Labour' should still be pasted on Japanese goods. The policy to weaken the role of agriculture has been implemented in the interests of monopoly capital; during the ten years from 1955 the working population engaged in agriculture has decreased from about 19 millions to about 15 millions. The population quitting agriculture is employed in low-wage labour in urban districts. The number of bankruptcies among the minor enterprises has also sharply increased during this period.

In the election campaign the Communist Party of Japan put forward concrete solutions for the people's various demands in their living conditions, and elaborated a radical policy to transform the future course of the Japanese economy and work for the stabilisation and improvement of the people's life. Measures for this aim include the overthrow of the subordination of Japanese economy to the United States; full democratisation of public finance; and people's control over monopoly capital.

As the result of the election campaign the Communist Party of

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Japan made great strides forward.* The House of Councillors' election in Japan is held every three years to re-elect half of the total of 250 members. Its election method is so undemocratically designed as to prevent the advance of the Communist Party and others. Nevertheless, our Party succeeded in returning four candidates in the latest election and now holds seven seats including the number of our Party's seats uncontested in the election, (before the latest election our Party held four seats in the House of Councillors. I myself am a member for one of the seats not contested in this election.) Our Party won about 3.6 million votes exceeding that in the election held three years ago by nearly one million. This is the highest polling score ever obtained by the Party since its founding.

The Liberal Democratic Party lost two seats and its role remained at a 40 per cent level—almost the same as the previous election; it has lost the majority support of the nation. In particular, its role in big cities was as low as 20 to 30 per cent and it could not stop the trend of its marked political decline. But one of the causes why, in spite of the strong distrust shown by the nation and of the existence of an objective condition for its big decline, the Liberal Democratic Party was able to maintain the status quo, is that it was helped by the decline of the Japan Socialist Party. The Japan Socialist Party, which is the largest opposition party in Japan greatly declined having lost eight seats. On a number of questions the Japan Socialist Party raises positive demands upon which it can agree with our Party; yet on the other hand it is a social democratic party which has a deep-rooted anti-communist sectarian trend, and always vacillates to the 'left' and right; and it pursued a wavering policy and action in the election. For instance, it avoided confrontation with the forces which support the US-Japan military alliance, virtually rejected the democratic forces' joint anti-Security-Treaty struggle proposed by our Party, and instead proposed the idea of an unprincipled coalition front inclusive of the forces supporting the Security Treaty. Yet on the other hand it turned its back on the unity of the democratic forces by flirting with the big-power type

* The official return of the election in July 1968, for the House of Councillors showed the following allocation of seats:

	Seats Won	*New Total*	*Previous Total*	*Gains or Losses*
Liberal Democrats	69	137	139	−2
Japan Socialist Party	28	65	73	−8
Komeito	13	24	20	+4
Democratic Socialists	7	10	6	+4
Communists	4	7	4	+3
Independents	5	7	6	+1

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intervention of the Mao Tse-tung faction in China, by defending the subversive activity of the Trotskyites in Japan, and was also involved in political corruptions and scandals together with the Liberal Democratic Party. It was quite natural that such a political posture of the Socialist Party was subjected to the nation's strong criticism in the election.

In addition, the Democratic Socialist Party which is a right-wing social-democratic party and semi-government party, and the Komei Party, a religious party, somewhat increased their political weight by increasing the number of their seats. (It may be noted that, alongside the increased representation in the House of Councillors won at this election, the Communist Party of Japan holds five seats in the House of Representatives, almost 1,600 seats throughout the country in local assemblies in the Tokyo Metropolis, prefectures, cities, towns and villages and one mayoralty and town headman.)

The situation after the elections to the House of Councillors opens a new critical phase for the Japanese people. In spite of their actual defeat in the election, the Liberal Democratic Party and Sato Government announced after the election that the position of maintenance of the Security Treaty over a long period of time 'obtained the nation's support'. They openly shaped the policy to strengthen the Japan-US military alliance, for the indefinite use of Okinawa by the US armed forces, and for turning the whole of Japan into a nuclear base. Now they fully follow and co-operate with US imperialism in its policy of aggression in Asia, such as the war of aggression in Vietnam and the military provocation on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. At home, they are trying to carry out more openly the policy to revive and strengthen militarism and imperialism. In the recently intensified contradictions of the world capitalist economy and in the growing instability of the Japanese economy, monopoly capital and the Liberal Democratic Government further increase the pressure on the national livelihood by means of 'rationalisation', labour intensification, oppression of minor enterprises and price-increases in order to impose sacrifices on the workers. Immediately after the election the Government raised prices one after another—the price of rice, public utilities charges, monopoly prices, etc.

The above-mentioned reactionary and anti-popular policy of the Liberal Democratic Party and Government was bound to encounter a counter-attack by broad sections of the people, which often compelled retreats or changes in policy. This struggle of the people has sharpened the contradiction within the ruling class.

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That the Government is losing the nation's support year after year is proved by the fact that in the elections of July, 1968, the nation's support for the Government dropped below the level of 50 per cent. Looking back upon the whole of last year one finds that large-scale and fierce mass struggles have been repeated. For instance, a mass meeting of 50,000 and many demonstrations in Sasebo against the visit of the US nuclear-powered aircraft carrier 'Enterprise' at Sasebo; frequent struggles in various places for the removal of the US armed forces bases; the struggle of the people of Tokyo against the establishment of a field hospital for the US armed forces; the protest movement against the crash of a US fighter-bomber into Kyushu University; the struggle of seamen and longshoremen who refused to handle munitions destined for Vietnam; and the struggles of workers and citizens in various areas refusing to transport ammunition of the US armed forces. Above all, worthy of special mention is that the Communist Party of Japan and other peace and democratic organisations took the initiative to unfold a nation-wide fund-raising campaign to support and assist the Vietnamese people, collected 100 million yen in a comparatively short space of time, shipped necessary materials for the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle by chartering a vessel to Vietnam last August and were given a hearty and warm welcome and thanks from the Vietnamese people.

The struggle for the complete return of Okinawa to Japan is further developing under the firm co-operation between the people in Okinawa and Japan proper and has become a great menace to the US-Japanese reactionary forces.

Alongside those struggles for the questions of peace and independence have developed the struggles of every section of the people headed by the working class to defend their living conditions and rights: the struggles of the trade unions for substantial wage increases, shorter working hours, the defence of rights and against 'rationalisation'; the strike struggle of the national railway workers against rationalisation; numerous struggles of farmers comprising 5.5 million households for a producer's rice price to meet their production costs; the struggle mainly of housewives against price increases, etc.

In such a situation it is our pressing task to develop more powerfully the struggle for the abrogation of the Security Treaty and the return of Okinawa, and for safeguarding the nation's life and rights, and to establish the joint struggle and unity of the whole democratic forces. Moreover, this task is gradually becoming a

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common demand of the majority of the people and a favourable objective condition is arising for it.

The advance of this joint struggle was shown by the fact that in the election of the Tokyo Metropolitan Governor held in 1967 the united front of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and other democratic forces won the election by defeating the candidate of the conservative forces. Similar victories were won in the elections for Governor of Kyoto Prefecture and Mayor of Kyoto.

Despite such positive results gained, it is necessary to recognise that, due to the sectarian attitude taken by the Socialist Party and some other organisations, the joint struggle of the democratic forces is far behind what the situation requires. In order to overcome such a state of affairs, our Party is making every possible effort to form the united front.

The Communist Party of Japan has now a membership of almost 300,000 and its Party organ has a circulation of one million several hundred thousand. The Party has become a powerful organisational force and exerts a certain influence upon Japan's politics.

Our Party firmly upholds the position of self-reliance and independence based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and makes every effort to establish a mighty National Democratic United Front. Our Party opposes all opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism, and resolutely fights against big-power chauvinist interventions.

Our Party marches on with unshakeable conviction to pave the road to a socialist, communist Japan by defeating the rule of US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, and by carrying out a new democratic revolution, a democratic revolution of the people.

AFTERMATH OF DERRY

Betty Sinclair

(*This concludes the article on Northern Ireland printed in our November issue.—Ed.* LM.)

When Capt. Terence O'Neill, MP became Prime Minister in 1963 there was a glimmer of hope. He talked 'fair' and even went to the extent of meeting Mr. Sean Lemass, the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic. He spoke of the need for 'better community relations' and went about Northern Ireland, Britain and elsewhere laying the trail for such. But he met, within his own Party, the strongest and

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dirtiest opposition. Mr. Brian Faulkner, Minister of Commerce and Mr. W. Craig, Minister of Home Affairs, in his Cabinet, demonstrated to all public and political life here and in other places, that they wanted none of his 'soft line.' He actually had to fight an attempt to remove him as Prime Minister two years ago when he was on holiday in the Home Counties of England. With this opposition, there came the rise of Paisleyism. The Rev. Ian Paisley, who got his doctorate in some bible-belt college in the Southern States of America, arose to defend Northern Ireland against everybody—Catholics and all sections of the Protestant Churches if they even mentioned any idea of Christian unity with their Catholic brethren. And he was not repudiated by many Cabinet Ministers, outside O'Neill and his cousin. Mr. Phelim O'Neil, MP for North Antrim, and the latter came in for much abuse when he called Paisley a 'fascist.'

O'Neill had promised reforms in the sphere of jobs, housing, votes and the bringing of life here more into line with that of Britain. Many wanted to give him the opportunity to do so. He received every encouragement from all responsible sections of the community. Class differences in Northern Ireland are much bound up with the unfinished national question and it is a measure of the responsibility of the people that all were willing to give O'Neill 'his chance.'

But time has a habit of passing. And the looked-for reforms did not seem to be in the offing. Queen's Speech followed Queen's Speech and eventually it was agreed that business votes would no no longer be allowed for Stormont elections and the University representation (4 seats) would also be discontinued. Nothing more—nothing less. The business vote had ceased to have much meaning because so many local firms were not in local hands and the directors of the monopolies don't worry about such votes—they require the State to look after their interests without the bother of going to the polls. A new University was to be opened at Coleraine, Co. Antrim and it was not possible to give continued representation to the graduates at Queens University, Belfast, without extending it to the future graduates at Ulster University, Coleraine. So, actually, O'Neill and his Cabinet gave nothing in the way of reforms.

The Civil Rights Association, which was established about three years ago, and which had on its Council representatives of all shades of political opinion, including Unionist, examined the situation. They decided to press for reforms all along the line so that there would be no second-class citizens left in Northern Ireland and that all forces, Unionist and opposition, would be given the right to play

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a full part in the community. There were no Republican—no Communist, or other kinds of plots.

The Constitution of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association states in its Objects (2) 'The aim of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association shall be to assist in the maintenance of civil liberties, including freedom of speech, propaganda and assembly. The Association shall advance measures for the recovery and enlargement of such liberties and shall take steps as the Association deem necessary to that end.' The Constitution is based on the Constitution of the British Civil Liberties Association—from whom we had every assistance and encouragement.

Our work was very quiet, much unnoticed except by the police and civil authorities, until we were asked to assist the people of the Coalisland and Dungannon areas (Co. Tyrone) to protest against blatant discrimination—against Catholics—in the matter of Council house distribution. This brought in, in the nature of things, denial of the right to vote in local government elections at 21—no house, no vote—and jobs. All due notice, under the Public Order Act, 1951, was given to the police authorities about the march from Coalisland to Dungannon and the meeting to be held in Dungannon Square—a meeting place used as 'a right' by Government supporters. The organisers were asked, after a long period of time, to re-route the place of meeting into an area known as 'the Catholic Ghetto' in Dungannon. This was done by way of the service of an order a few hours before the march (4½ miles) was to begin. The organisers refused to put a sectarian complex on the march and meeting. They, the 3,000 marchers were met, outside Dungannon city, with a cordon, hundreds of policemen, police vehicles and dogs and refused entry to one of Ireland's most ancient cities—all to 'keep order' as the Paisley faction had occupied the Square in the city. The march was halted at the cordon and the meeting took place. It is difficult to describe that march and meeting. The people were so orderly and responsible and now, in Northern Ireland history, the 24th August has become a memorable day.

An appeal from Derry citizens to organise a march and meeting was then received. Arrangements were made, with all responsible political groups excepting the Unionists, to go forward for October 5. A short march through the city and a meeting in the Diamond—a historic place and the scene of many meetings of all sections of the people—excepting in the past number of years when the Government authorities have refused to allow other than Orange Order and Apprentice Boys of Derry Parades. The excuse was that the

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Government 'wishes to preserve peace and order.' The result: no organisations other then those supporting the Government were allowed to use the Diamond or enter the Walls of Derry.

For the Civil Rights March on October 5, no objections were offered by the police authorities until late on Friday October 4. Then orders under the Public Order Act were served on local Derry people and loud speaker equipment was seized. It was learnt, on the morning of Saturday October 5, that the parade could not take the route notified to the police and, under no considerations, could a meeting be held in the Diamond. The parade started from the Distillery Brae. It was met by forces of the police and, after due warning, was not prevented from entering into Duke Street—one of the entries to the Walls of Derry. At the top of Duke Street there was a police cordon and three armoured vehicles across. A request was made to police to allow the marchers to go on. This was the first time that the batons were used and many went to hospital. A meeting was held by the marchers and those present were asked to disperse. They were doing so . . . a gap was created between them and the police and then the police charged and it was found that there was a police cordon at the *bottom* of the street and the marchers could not get out. Then two water cannons were brought in and the batoning and hosing went on indiscriminately. Even into areas of the city where people were out doing their week-end shopping. No one present will ever forget Derry on Saturday, October 5.

It must be made clear that the terrible events had nothing to do with the Derry local authority, the local police or local unionist or other such associations. The decision to baton and hose the marchers, and everyone who came in their way, was taken at Government level. The order was given by Mr. Craig, Minister of Home Affairs. The Prime Minister, Capt. O'Neill, that morning took himself off to Leicester in Britain to open an 'Ulster Week' there. He left the people to their fate and to meet a militarised police force that one could only imagine existed inside a fascist country.

The repercussions have been startling. From all over Northern Ireland many who had begun to despair of any simple reforms have been galvanised into activity—for Civil Rights. Students, 3,000 strong, from Queen's University, demonstrated on the next Wednesday and staged a three-hour sit-down in the heart of Belfast—for Civil Rights. (They were met by the police and the forces of Paisleyism—but they met the situation and made it clear that they would be back again.) Students at the new University in Coleraine—one of the showpieces of the Unionists and denied to Derry City—threatened

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to march in Coleraine. All over Northern Ireland statements, discussions and debates are being organised. The press and television has come from all over the world to report the events and to find out what conditions really are like.

There is no doubt that the Unionist Party does not welcome this publicity. But by their own action, they have forced it. They can no longer refuse to treat all with the same due respect and dignity. They can no longer discriminate against any sections of the community in the sphere of housing, jobs, votes and the right of free speech and assembly. The people have learnt to stand up and be counted.

They can no longer claim to be in favour of 'keeping in step with Britain' because they are the people who refuse to put into operation British conditions in Northern Ireland. They are the irrevocable opponents of real freedom with Britain and the British people. And they must be exposed. When that has been done, the British people, through the labour and trade union movement will at last understand that the people across the Irish Sea are not their enemies—they want to be their friends in conditions of voluntary unity, respect and freedom.

As Mr. John McAnerney, Secretary of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, has stated (quoted in the *Irish News*, September 17):

> 'The key element in all this is the power that resides in Unionism to proclaim justice and right for *all* citizens, irrespective of their political or religious creed. The intelligent use of that power is the only hope of change in the situation which is charged by the Civil Rights Association.
>
> There will be no need for Civil Rights bodies or marches if, in the exercise of power, at all levels, the Government sees to it that civil rights, of whatever sort, are enjoyed by everybody . . . injustice (cannot) be cured by blandly ignoring them, or castigating others for pointing them out.'

Seasonal Greetings and a Peaceful New Year

to all our readers and friends

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SOCIALISM, REVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY

Giles Hibbert

(*Giles Hibbert is a Catholic Priest, a member of the Dominican Order. He works in Oxford lecturing and writing on theology, philosophy and humanism. He has travelled in Eastern Europe and published articles in the German Democratic Republic. He has also published books and articles in England, Ireland, etc. He is deeply interested and engaged in both the practical and theoretical aspects of the Marxist-Christian dialogue*),

THE increasing popularity of dialogue between Christians and Marxists may be regarded simply as a facet of the wide-spread desire to seek an easing of tension between the world's major power groups with their differing interests. But whilst it is certainly true that a very important aspect of such dialogue is based on the realisation of what damage may be done to mankind through the build up of arms and the brinkmanship fostered by cold war policies, nevertheless such an interpretation of it by itself is far from adequate. For engaged in this work there are now an increasing number—especially among Roman Catholics—of Christian theologians who are not merely interested in achieving coexistence and understanding between different parties, but who are involved in the dialogue precisely as Socialists, even Marxist Socialists. This they will claim is fundamental to their Christianity, and some will even go on to claim that not only does it stand for something like this (whatever it may seem to have done in the past), but that the Church even has the possibility of leading the future world in this direction.

To many this must seem an incredible claim, and it is not surprising that some people (inside as well as outside the Church) should question both the sincerity and intelligence of these theologians. What they claim to be the heart of the Christian Gospel is so profoundly different from what has been practised for centuries that one wonders how, particularly as Catholics, they retain their allegiance to their Church, and whether they are not simply kicking out against an authority which they find irksome or playing at political opportunism. Such judgements are made both by traditional Christians and traditional Marxists, and yet if one judges from experience rather than from assumptions, these theologians are found to have

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intelligence, human compassion and a profound loyalty to the Christian Church.

There is now, however, a new phenomenon emerging. No longer do we have only some isolated clergy and laymen expressing dissenting opinions, but for the first time high officials of the Church have expressed unequivocal views of a similar nature. The Bishops of Brazil as a body issued earlier this year a statement of which the following extracts are representative:

> In the face of the anguished situation (in our country) we cannot avoid our duty to encourage the faithful to wake up and undertake work calculated to effect the changes which are necessary. . . . To prepare people to accomplish this work is not to be subversive. On the contrary, it is to help towards true peace, which cannot be achieved without a just social order. Truly subversive movements we do indeed oppose, namely those designed to disrupt social order so as to exploit the ensuing anarchy for factional advantage. *But the abuse of economic and political power for one's own particular interest is equally a subversion of the social order. . . . We are aware that the passage from an individualistic ethic based exclusively on profit and pleasure to a community ethic based on the sharing by all of the common good will be painful, but we cannot for that reason evade the effort.* . . . We are appalled by the poverty of our resources . . . we have not the means to relieve misery, but we will collaborate in all genuine programmes of human betterment in order to do away as soon as possible with all help that is paternalistic . . .

The sentences italicised are highly significant; they indicate clearly that these bishops are arguing both for socialism and indeed revolution. If, however, their language is still somewhat guarded, it is because they find themselves under heavy attack, from left as well as right, for not confining themselves to their 'purely spiritual' sphere. This very sphere in fact they deny:

> Our very first responsibility is the furthering of brotherhood amongst men. . . . We are in the service of love on behalf of all men. This is ignored by some, misunderstood by others, and deliberately falsified by certain groups who claim to serve the Church whilst in fact furthering their own interests . . . To deny the Church's *mission* to fight on behalf of *humane values* is tantamount to defending a disguised paganism. . . .

The bishops 'deny the claim that religion despoils man by consoling him with a future happiness that will compensate for the misery of this life,' and point out that attempts to confine their mission to the 'spiritual' sphere are attempts to ensure that religion is precisely that sort of thing.

The Christian Marxist has indeed to admit that religion has been thought of and preached in such a way as to make the accusation against it largely justified. The point he makes is that this understanding of religion and God, and man's resultant relation to him

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and to an after-life, is a betrayal and misrepresentation of much of Christ's message. 'The Kingdom of Heaven is amongst you.' There are not two separate worlds, one here—a world of unreality and necessary misery—and one 'above' or 'ahead' from which God looks down beckoning. The whole Old Testament history of Israel was one which *moved* slowly towards the definitive rejection of this concept—a process brought to its conclusion in Jesus Christ in whom the *spirit* became *human flesh*. The Gospel message is by right something far closer to what the marxist would think of as *material* than it is to what is normally regarded as *spiritual*.

The Christian has in fact to become an atheist, in the best Marxist sense, before he is capable of rediscovering a God who is not largely a head-in-air escapism. It is only then that he will be able to speak of God unhesitantly, both to himself and to others, in a way that is significant and valuable. For the moment, although he believes that the Church in principle contains and nurtures a vital truth, he cannot easily proclaim it to an unbelieving world. What he can do is to acknowledge, with the Brazilian bishops, that his 'very first responsibility is the furthering of brotherhood amongst men . . . in the service of love . . .' The Christian Marxist sees in Communism (despite its possibility of getting likewise perverted) an approach to man which makes this possible. It is an approach capable of taking man profoundly seriously in a way which Christians have lost sight of and which is necessary if they are to rediscover the fullness of their faith. If he can achieve this, he believes that Christiantity has yet a further richness to offer man—one which enhances his reality rather than alienating him from himself. As a catholic priest from Peru said recently on a television programme, causing the interviewer alarm as he said it: The future hope of South America lies in the joining together of the Church and Communism and 'I do not mean just an alliance but the "two in one flesh".'

But to what extent is the Church ready for or even open to anything like this? And when could anything tangible be achieved? The time is still early, and Christian, especially Catholic, Marxists still form in most places a very small minority. But their movement has life and vigour, and their claim that so much of 'official Christianity' has been a pharisaical misrepresentation and corruption of the Gospel and of the most authentic elements in the Christian tradition is hard to refute. Their influence and acceptance is growing. They have for some time been successfully publishing a two-monthly periodical, *Slant*, in which these ideas are critically aired and dis-

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cussed; and a recent milestone is the publication, by Panther Books, of a work in which the dialogue is seen in full swing. *What Kind of Revolution?** is edited by James Klugmann and Paul Oestreicher, and contains articles by Communists and Christians exploring their common ground and concerns.

But of course the opposition, at least spasmodically, is also growing—possibly an indication of their strength. This is governed by many factors. There is of course the great dead weight of traditional outlooks, the defence of entrenched positions representing various forms of privilege.

But these reactions will not prevail, for what exploits man or fails to take him seriously will wither, being recognised by an increasingly educated people as pernicious or irrelevant. These aspects of the Church's life are marked for extinction; its true concern for men and their future, inspired by new life and understanding, has still something vital to offer to the world as a friend rather than as an enemy of Communism—possibly even with 'the two in one flesh'.

* Panther Books, 218 pp., 6s.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

Trade Unions and Reformism

Today in Britain the trade union movement, despite all its weaknesses and defects, despite its traitorous leaders, still remains the only mass organisation of the British proletariat, still constitutes the organisational channel for the mass struggle against capitalism, still exercises a tremendous hold over the masses, and is still looked to instinctively by the masses as the weapon in their day-to-day fight. The main strength of reformism is not in its 140 Labour representatives in the House of Commons—this is but a reflection of it—but in its domination over the trade union movement, the channel which it uses to reach the masses, to mobilise men and money and votes. . . .

The strength of reformism in the trade unions, i.e., the working class, rests on two main supports: (1) its past services which arose out of its ability, in view of the conditions as they have been up to the present, to distort the elementary day-to-day struggles of the workers against the capitalists into channels of mutual concessions and yet retain its leadership; and (2) its expression of those sectional, individual, opportunist reactions to everyday events which under these conditions inevitably arose amongst certain sections of the working class.

(From 'What Next in the Trade Unions?', by John A. Mahon, *Labour Monthly*, December 1928.)

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Towards the Lenin Centenary

Lenin on Freedom of the Press

The 'Freedom of the Press' slogan became a great world slogan at the close of the Middle Ages and remained so up to the 19th century. Why? Because it expressed the ideas of the progressive bourgeoisie, i.e., its struggle against kings and priests, feudal lords and landowners.

No country in the world has done as much to liberate the masses from the influence of priests and landowners as the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) has done, and is doing. We have been performing *this* function of 'freedom of the press' *better* than *anyone else* in the world.

All over the world wherever there are capitalists, freedom of the press means freedom to *buy-up* newspapers, to *buy* writers, to *bribe*, buy and fake 'public opinion' for the *benefit of the bourgeoisie.*

Freedom of the press in the RSFSR, which is surrounded by the bourgeois enemies of the whole world, means freedom of *political organisation* for the bourgeoisie and its most loyal servants, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The bourgeoisie all over the world is still very much stronger than we are. To place in its hands yet *another* weapon like freedom of political organisation (= freedom of the press, for the press is the core and foundation of political organisation) means facilitating the enemy's task, means helping the class enemy.

We have no wish to commit suicide, and therefore we will not do this.

Lenin, a letter to G. Myasnikov, August 5, 1921.
Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 505.

CORRESPONDENCE: Lenin

ZELDA COATES' VIVID personal description of Lenin in the November issue is borne out by Paustovsky in his *Story of a Life*, Vol. 3, 'In that Dawn' on pages 75 and 76. He was a journalist, and present at the Congress of Soviets in the Bolshoi Theatre. Particularly striking is the author's description of Lenin's speech dealing with food supplies. 'In the mouths of other speakers, the word "bread" became an abstract, an economic, a statistical concept, but something elusive in Lenin's intonation gave it body—you saw the black rye loaf, you knew it for the daily bread for which the whole country was aching.

I am so grateful for the general usefulness of *Labour Monthly*; it is a treat to read anything sane and reasonable when our press and radio are so contemptibly the reverse.

K. Y. RINTOUL.

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ART COLLEGES—THE NEED FOR CHANGE

Ray Watkinson

WITH THE NEW ACADEMIC YEAR, the issues raised in art colleges in June and July will once more be matters of active concern; for at the heart of a great deal of muddle, sound and fury, lay and still lies the need for radical change in the work of the colleges; and not in the Diploma colleges alone, though upon them the onus lies especially heavy. Theirs are the critical cases, and—as Sir John Summerson made clear to them in his recent letter to Principals (reported and quoted in *The Times* of September 4)—they have a right and a duty, such as art schools have never been granted since their inception over a century ago, to take the initiative in their own affairs.

No doubt many Principals (and especially those who have been uttering the orthodox vulgarities about alien elements) will be feeling hurt and angry at this bald confrontation with the real facts, and will accuse Sir John and his Council privately if not publicly of having played Pontius Pilate and left responsibility for the situation in their trembling hands. Perhaps the name of Judas will come even more readily to their imaginations,—for has he not been talking to students—worse, listening to them?

But, whatever the failings of the Coldstream and Summerson Councils, on both of which sit a number of Principals, as well as others with less obvious qualifications to speak on the work of schools of art—it has always been clear that the onus for establishing the new courses, for making real the promised parity of the Dip AD with the University degree, for developing art schools as independent entities, was laid on the schools themselves. And those of us who remember the long years of frustration and depression under the dead hand of the Ministry's regulations, conditions and examinations (the papers sent down from London in sealed bags, the work sent back to South Kensington in more sealed bags)—know that what is happening is that the initiative thus opened to the schools bears with it not just the joys of freedom, but the weight of responsibility. What hurts the old gang is that it is the students (who after all are the justification for the very existence of the schools, they and not the cosy fact that the schools have traditionally provided jobs for many who could not otherwise so easily make their way by the exercise of their talents)—it is the students who have, without always understanding what they were about, seized upon the possibilities created by governmental acceptance of the first Summerson Report. Centralised ministerial regulation has been the bane of art school work and life for a century. Summerson ended this; and that first report was at pains not to make any avoidable prescriptions for the conduct of live, responsible schools. This, however trying for those used for a lifetime to wait upon instruction, was a great merit in the report even though it could not in itself, solve any problems. It was not meant to do so; it was meant to focus the attention of the art schools on the nature of the problems they had and have to solve: it is only in the clear statement of the problem in whatever field that we make our

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way to its solution. The onus, as Sir John has just reiterated, has lain with the schools themselves since the institution of the new order.

The Coldstream Council came into being, initially, to provide educational whitewash for a Treasury operation designed to make enormous cuts in the provision of art schools and the places available to would-be students. In the very early fifties, this policy had already brought about the closure of some sixty of the then two hundred schools and departments of art. But the number of young people wanting some form of professional training in art—over a very wide range indeed—has not shrunk; nor, for all sorts of reasons, have many authorities, however foolish, niggardly and reactionary in the financing and administration of their art schools, closed down more of them. And in the course of its discussions and in the formulation of its proposals for change, the Coldstream Council transformed its given role, setting up the subsidiary Summerson Council to elaborate ideas for a new nationally valid award that should ultimately have parity with a university first degree. The positive proposals which came out of this presently gave us the formula for the Diploma in Art and Design, and it was indicated that this award, if it were to be meaningful, must be independently made and administered by the colleges themselves, just as university degrees are awarded by those institutions and are not subject to the will of outside bodies. Some forty colleges were, after submission of schemes and inspection by panels dealing with the main areas of study, designated to award the new Diploma. No doubt the Treasury assumed that after this, colleges not so designated would die of inanition or be closed by the LEAs because they had not made the grade. The then Chief Inspector for Art was widely quoted as saying that by the time the operation was finished there would not be more than forty art schools in the country. His hopes, and those of his Treasury masters, were disappointed. On the contrary, the effort made in a very large number of schools to win recognition, and in many cases even the failure to win it, meant that a new look was given to many non-Diploma as well as Diploma colleges; and many non-Diploma colleges, perhaps in the hope of subsequent recognition at the quinquennial review now about to take place, have been running courses clearly modelled on the supposed Summerson pattern, I say supposed because one of the main intentions of Summerson was in fact to break down, rather than to establish, pattern.

There was not, in the early stages, anything like enough discussion and re-education among the educators. On the one hand, the new prestige of the Dip. AD offered to many colleges and their teachers a shining band wagon; on the other, in this new situation, far too few teachers—old and young alike—grasped the nature of the opportunity: far too few saw it, or see it now, as demanding realistic and fundamental change not first in institutions, but in their own thought and habit. Above all, as requiring them to see their work as *education*, not simply as specific training; and at the same time to bring it into direct contact with the realities of the post-art-school world in which students have ceased to be students, but are launched as citizens with their own skills, ambitions, problems—and their way to win. A good deal of discontent on the part of students, and the most part of the muddle in their thinking about the situation of the last few months, stemmed directly from the incapacity or unwillingness of staff to grapple

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with the new facts of life—and their readiness to grumble at what they refused to comprehend.

At the heart of the problems lie these important points. Freedom, for the school as for the student, means also responsibility: the establishment of the Diploma as a degree means recognising that students must be treated as adult; that the authority of staff must rest upon competence and experience, not at all upon mere hierarchical designations: perhaps most important of all, the fundamental fact that learning by doing and making has intellectual as well as sensuous and emotional importance in no way less than that long accorded to academic disciplines; and the achievement of parity with the university degree must rest firmly upon that fact, not upon the larding of unrealistic courses with pseudo-academic routines which are in many cases already discredited even in the fields from which they are ostensibly drawn.

All the Diploma colleges will, this year, be reviewed by the Summerson Council. Sir John has indicated pretty clearly some of the major ways in which reform should be instituted in the colleges—by the colleges. But it will be the responsibility of his visiting panels to probe very deeply, to meet and talk not only with Principals but with all levels of teaching staff—and with students. All the whitewash has not been used up yet by a long way.

A DECLARATION OF INTENT

by a painter

Paul Redway, here making his declaration, was born in Surrey in 1940. He studied painting at Wimbledon School for Art, and St. Martins, Charing Cross. He then worked for four years as a general artist on Vogue *magazine. Since then he has been working mainly full time on his own painting.*

Redway held his first one-man exhibition in 1964 at the Opus Gallery. This was followed by other one-man exhibitions at the Doctors Gallery-Restaurant in 1965 and the Opus Gallery in 1967. His work has been shown at the Collectors Gallery, London, at the Whitehall Gallery, and has been included in various mixed exhibitions in this country.

He has travelled in France and in North Africa. Recently he returned from Leningrad where he worked during the last year at the I. E. Repin Institute of Painting, USSR Academy of Arts.

His latest exhibition made up of over fifty works included the paintings which he brought back from Russia, and was held at Battersea District Library in September.

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A FEW years ago a friend rather older and more experienced in art than myself asked me the question, 'Why did you choose to become a painter?' I remember being rather at a loss to give a short answer to the question. I hadn't been particularly conscious at any moment of having chosen to be this rather than that—my education included both public and grammar schools before art —and if there was any awareness of choice it was probably because I felt rather rebellious against the 'hothouse' atmosphere of these educational institutions of the establishment. Anyway, I felt most complete drawing and painting and certainly wasn't much good at anything else.

However, I returned the question to my friend who replied, 'I don't think you could have been anything else'. All this was some time ago and only later I think I began to understand what he meant by his reply—that is the question of involvement.

This sounds more concerned with a subjective accent on the 'I'. But only through the testing of ideas, discussion, and argument is it possible to arrive at a conviction—a position to say I intend and hope to do. Even this is bound to change continually with experience and advance. In painting it is the works themselves which will reflect such things.

Involvement means for me and must be for any serious artist the history leading to the surrounding conditions—reflection of attitudes, feelings of the present day environment.

Today in the West, life and art have never reached a greater degree of separation from each other. This gives rise, on the one hand, to gimmick, style and outrageous forms of art becoming ends in themselves and often being used as criteria for success, yet we cannot ignore the anguish of Francis Bacon (creaking melodrama?); on the other hand, perhaps, there is the intellectual exploration of Ben Nicholson, suggesting the more positive trend. Both are necessary because together they truly mirror different aspects of our society.

During the last few years there appears to be among the younger artists a trend towards a more responsible approach—a widening of political understanding reflected by the formation of groups uniting differing ideas, media, expression, to forge closer links with society, production and the arts.

The outlook is hopeful, but until a fundamental change of our society is brought about the artists must continue to rescue and gain a little more ground towards bringing this about.

Paul Redway

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BOOKS

Science and Technology in British Politics

Norman J. Vig

Pergamon Press, 190 pp., 45s.

MODERNISATION, THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION—these dominated the 1964 General Election and the months leading up to it. From the moment Wilson took over the Labour Party leadership from Gaitskell, he set out to identify himself with the image of science and technology, the man who cast tradition aside, the personification of efficiency, the broom which would sweep the dust and deadwood out of the boardrooms and release the pent-up energies of our scientists and technologists. There is no doubt of his ability as a salesman, even if the goods he sold now seem to be shoddy.

This book which will appeal more to the specialist than the general reader, examines the attitudes of Tory and Labour leaders to the problem of formulating a policy for science and technology during the period 1959 to 1964, and also the way in which Parliament and various interest groups, especially amongst the scientists, influenced the final outcome.

Apart from the naked political opportunism by which science policy became an exercise in catching votes, the better use of science and technology had by 1959 become a crucial issue for British Capitalism. The appointment in 1961 of Lord Hailsham (now once again plain Hogg) was the first grudging admission of this fact. Hailsham gave birth to the Trent Report on the organisation of science in 1963, and this aroused almost universal hostility. 'Pale Blueprint for Science' was the *Economist's* description. There was a widespread feeling that instead of tidying up the organisation of Government aid to science and technology, as proposed by Trent, radical changes were called for. A 'real' Ministry of Science was needed with power to intervene in industry. The Labour Party gave voice to this demand. Its election manifesto promised a 'Ministry of Technology to guide and stimulate a major national effort to bring advanced technology and new processes into industry.' In the outcome, this Ministry, one of the biggest in the Government, has become the kingpin of the drive to rationalise the British capitalist set-up into bigger, more profitable units.

Norman Vig's book is a contribution to the study of the role of the science policy debate in British politics during 1959-1964, but it depends too much on the arguments within Labour Party study groups, Government committees and back-bench and all-Party Parliamentary committees. These tended to concentrate on how best to *organise* Government aid to science. But it is a primary social problem. The real question is what is the purpose of the proposed organisation of science? Is it private profit or human betterment? This raises the question of socialism. Wilson touched on this as part of the image-making routine, but that was all. Neither does the book bring out the fact that science and technology became a crucial issue at this time for capitalism itself because of the crisis developing throughout the period studied. Attempts to restore the past glory

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and power of British imperialism had entailed crippling defence expenditure at home and abroad and repeated doses of Stop-Go. By 1959-64 the policy was clearly on the rocks. The backwardness of British industry could no longer be ignored. It had to be overcome, the impending crisis weathered, all at the expense of the people. Hence the preoccupation of ruling circles with mergers, incomes policy and the scientific revolution.

Hence, the book fails to set its subject in the context of capitalism. This gives it an air of unreality.

TONY CHATER

The Legislative Process in Great Britain

S. A. Walkland

Allen & Unwin, 110 pp., 25s.

THIS IS A CAREFUL and scholarly book describing the operation of the making of laws in Great Britain, not just in its outward form but as it is actually carried out. It should be helpful not only to students but to the general public, including politicians.

Its merits are substantial, and I comment mainly on such defects as it has. The most serious one, to my mind, lies in an almost total silence as to where the real power lies and as to how the holders of that power—the financial-industrial ruling class—apply it. The author describes our society as one 'which has developed politically to the stage where it needs comparatively few major adjustments to its organisation,' and it is thus natural for him to look on the role of 'pressure groups' in both direct and delegated legislation, the working of which, on the surface, he describes in some detail, as a useful and benevolent contribution to a combined operation of law-making in which the final decision as to contents lies with the government. To him, the power of the groups rests on 'the need of government for advice on, acquiescence in, and approval of (its) policies,' the government being 'secure in its monopoly of political authority' and its consultation with pressure groups being 'a function not of its political weakness but of its political strength.'

This remoteness from the reality of the political and economic 'facts of life' is perhaps made easier by the exclusion from the book of any consideration of financial legislation (which rather surprisingly does not hamper the author in presenting a complete and intelligible picture of the legislative process in general). I fear that the result of this remoteness might help students to remain or become apolitical; happily, they seem at present to be moving in the opposite direction.

Nevertheless, the book is a pretty good one; it is well-printed if with rather too many misprints, and too many abbreviations which are not always easy to follow.

D. N. PRITT

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